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OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE AUSTRALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY.

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE

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The Basis of Socialism

[illegible] commenced to [illegible] on 18th evening, and the [illegible] Utopian socialists, [illegible] perhaps the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] explained by Sorel as

philosophers [illegible] a bitter [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] such a basis [illegible] [illegible] meeting out its [illegible] [illegible] virtues, "Liberty, [illegible] Equality."

[illegible] was the astonishment [illegible] middle class [illegible] class and realising politics the result of the French Revolution

prosperity proclaimed to be the [illegible] of a society based upon [illegible] truths was a failure. In the antagonism between rich and became intensified by the removal [illegible] barriers that had impeded the [illegible] of the middle class, but acted [illegible] amelioration of the hardships of the

[illegible] ideas, notwithstanding their failure [illegible] remove the antagonisms of classes, [illegible] liberty to the individual, or establish fraternal brotherhood or give social equality, became the basis upon which Utopian Socialists claimed that society could be regenerated.

[illegible] Utopians, taking the prevailing [illegible] to a great extent as their stock in trade, thought it possible to regenerate society by pointing out its shortcomings and totalities to the masses, holding that [illegible] a proper understanding of the natural laws inherent in humanity would give full liberty to the individual, realise the brotherhood of man, [illegible] equality to each and every member of society.

[illegible] early Utopians had the excuse, [illegible] be denied, to present day [illegible] of these ideas, of never having [illegible] the sequence of events that changes on mankind individually [illegible] actively upon society.

Marx, in collaboration with Engels, [illegible] to the credit of clearing the social [illegible] of the fantastic schemes built [illegible] emotional aspirations. They accepted the dialectic of the Hegelian philosophy by which "for the first time the [illegible] world, natural, historical, intellectual, is represented as a process i.e., [illegible] constant motion change, transformation, development; and the attempt is [illegible] to trace out the internal connection [illegible] makes a continuous whole of all this movement and development." The Hegelian philosophy of the Absolute Idea, however, did not solve the problem it proposed. "This topsy-turvy had to be [illegible] aside," or "turned upside down"; [illegible] upon its feet instead of on its [illegible] where it was standing before.' [illegible] this Marx gave us the true conception of History. He showed that the material requirements of humanity in all [illegible] were the root from whence sprang [illegible] of Society, the basis upon which societies past and present rested; and [illegible] clear that owing to the material or economic means of producing the essentials of life being controlled by a minority, in their own interests to the enslavement of the majority, the only solution was the socialisation of these productive forces, not from a humanitarian point of view, nor yet from the abstract emotionalist idea of equality or liberty, nor because we desired it; but because it was inevitable inasmuch as the evolutionary process controlled by the development of the economic forces irrespective of the wishes of individuals or sections of society was driving society along a definite path that must end in Socialism.—J.M.G.—Exchange.

The Price of War.

EMPLOYERS IN THE A.S.P.

Owing to the lino of the following article being mixed in last week's issue, we reprint it with the necessary corrections.

TO THE MEMBERSHIP.

Comrades,

At the last annual Conference of the Party the following resolution was carried. "That no employer of labor shall be eligible as a member of the A.S.P.," and as this question will now be before the different branches for their endorsement, or otherwise, we, on behalf of the Melbourne branch, take this opportunity of making this appeal to the members of all other branches to reject this resolution.

The reasons for our appeal are, first, that its endorsement would simply mean that some of our most brainy, militant, and most active members would be unjustly forced out of the party, and consequently our propaganda would certainly suffer; and remember, comrades, that propaganda is the principle function of a revolutionary political party.

Secondly. We have always prided ourselves as being the most advanced and enlightened section of the Labor movement; and yet here we are adopting the most crude method for keeping the Party pure and straight. It is a copy of a proposal for the purification of the socalled Labor Party. At the back of this proposal is the absurd idea that the Labor Party had ceased to be true to name, and had degenerated into a compromising, vote-catching machine, because it had allowed employers into its ranks: whereas as a matter of fact (we challenge contradiction) the reverse is the fact.

It is a case of placing the cart before the horse. Its compromising vote-catching attitude is the cause of so many of the "employers of labor" joining its ranks. The Labor Party at its inception lacking an intelligent rank and file (the essential for a true party of Labor) soon became the breeding ground for place-hunters and political opportunists, and these were mostly from the ranks of the working class and not from the employers of labor. The leaders, or rather misleaders, of the character of Hughes, Holman and others of this stamp, soon led the movement on the path of compromises and betrayal of working class interests, in their efforts to secure parliamentary jobs, their aim was self-emancipation and not the emancipation of their class. The following are the measures which induces the employers to join the ranks of labor, viz., The nationalism of shipping, not for the purpose of introducing democratic control by the workers engaged, or even of improving their status, but rather to cheapen freight for the farmers, etc.; their protection (for the boss) in the form of a high tariff. The nationalisation of trams, electric light and gas to relieve the ratepayers, in other words property owners, of taxation, and in the last analysis the chief attraction for the "employer of labor" to the so-called Labor Party is that this party intended to perpetuate the capitalist system.

Then up goes the howl by those who support this policy that the "employers of labor captured the Labor Party," and that their inclusion alone would save the situation.

A revolutionary political party of Labor is not likely to attract these elements to the extent that a reform movement would. Employers of labor that can rise above their material interest and join a revolutionary party are bound to be few and far between, and such exceptions will prove an acquisition to the movement and are not amenable to bribery or corruption, this is no theory but a demonstrated fact as the history of the Socialist movement proves.

If the sorely pressed middle class or employers are excluded, as this resolution implies, seeing that he cannot find a place in an economic organisation where wage-workers only are admitted, where then are they to go and under what banner will they organise? This certainly requires answering, seeing that the lessons learned from Europe prove the necessity of having this same element aligned to us: we here, are aiming at their exclusion.

COME COMRADES! LET US REASON TOGETHER!!

On behalf of the Melbourne Branch,
Yours fraternally,

M. FEINBERG,
JAMES B. SCOTT.
Wm. M. HARRIS,

SOUTH COAST PROPAGANDA.

Party meetings are now a regular institution on the south coast. On Saturday, Jan. 25th, Coms. Browne, France and W. J. Thomas held a very successful meeting at Corrimal. Despite the fact that there were a few interjectors at the commencement by the time Com. Thomas had finished, the crowd were wholly sympathetic.

On the same night, Coms. Sadlier and A. S. Reardon visited Wollongong, the conservative end of the South Coast mining district, and did good work. At the outset, one pompous, prosperous looking individual informed Com. Reardon, that if he were a Bolshevic, he (the plute) would take steps to get him sent out of the country. This of course scared Com. Reardon (like hell) who started to quote Arthur Ransome on the Bolshevics, what time the pompous one was seen to sneak away. The speakers were subjected to very considerable interjection, but delivered the goods and made many friends. The noticeable thing about all our meetings these days, is that all the interjections come from the "semi-drunks" and old greybeards.

On Sunday, the 26th, Coms Chris. Hughes and W. J. Thomas conducted the meeting at Thirroul, and did effective educational work with the large crowd which assembled.

Scarborough.

Coms P. France and A. S. Reardon held the first meeting under party auspices that has yet eventuated at Scarborough. This also was on Sunday Jan. 26th. A very intelligent crowd assembled, and the meeting was in every way a success. Several of those present notified their intention of joining up with Thirroul Branch, and there is every indication that when more propaganda has been put in, a branch of the party be formed in this locality.

A marked feature of the week-end was that a record was set up for South Coast literature sales.

NEXT MEETING.

Workers in Scarborough are asked to take notice that, weather permitting, a meeting will be held at SCARBOROUGH BEACH on SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 2nd, at 3 O'CLOCK, when the speaker will be COMRADE G. NELSON.

A.S.R.

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Who Produces Wealth?

J. B. SCOTT.

The Melbourne "Age," that inspired handmaid of Democracy, a la capitalist interests—is mustering all its pen-pushing harlots in a vain attempt to stem the onward tide of Industrial Republicism. It gives the O.B.U. a column or two daily, it is a good advertisement that we must not allow to go to waste. In last Saturday's leading article they start in by misquoting the Preamble. They know all too well that had the O.B.U. Conference adopted the Preamble they quoted from it would have been the means of strangling the O.B.U. in its infancy.

With a weather eye on that special brand of democracy for which the class it represents is renowned, it raves like the ravishing wolf who instinctively sees the end of its ravishing existence. It speaks about "the people" as though the people were a something foreign to those who work for the bread they eat. "The people" are the working class. WE are the people. The people are those who produce all wealth, and not those who retain the wealth without producing it. The "people" they are concerned about are the last mentioned, to the "Age" the "people" are those who exploit labor. In this the "Age" shows a spirit of class consciousness, and all we ask is that the workers look in the opposite direction and consider themselves as the people who count.

The long since exploded vulgar economy of Senior and Mallock is again dusted and brought out in the hope that the workers will be fooled into giving the capitalist class another lease of life.

The "Age" tells us that the statement in the O.B.U. Preamble that "labor produces all wealth" is ludicrous in the extreme and hardly worthy of consideration. They point out, as poor Mallock did when De Leon trounced him, that wealth is a joint creation with "superior executive ability," playing the most important part, and that the "captains of industry" are receiving only a just reward for their "directing authority," and the risk on "capital." We have been asked to make good by the "Age," so we will proceed. Capital isn't that weird thing the capitalists pretend it to be. Capital, in the sense used by the "Age," is nothing more and nothing less than UNPAID LABOR used to further exploit labor. This is how the oracle is worked on the worker: The capitalist, or his representative, is in the boot business, he buys leather and machinery with wealth represented by the unpaid labor of the past; for this he pays the market value. This will not produce wealth will it? He buys another commodity Labor Power, for which he also pays the market value. . . . be it understood here that the value of the commodity, labor power, is determined in exactly the same way as the value of all other commodities, i.e., by the amount of NECESSARY social labor embodied in its reproduction—the amount necessary to reproduce labor power is just sufficient food, clothing and shelter to enable the owner of that commodity to feel fit enough to come back to work in the morning, and that much it gets and no more. Labor power is the only commodity that can produce more than its own value. The workers, toil in the factory for three hours, and in that time they produce enough value to supply them with the food, clothing and shelter. Do they go home when this is done and take their wives out in their motor launch? They do not! They stay at work for another five hours and produce surplus value, which enables those who own the machinery, to take their wives out in motor cars and yachts. They (the workers) receive what is known as "wages," those wages represent the three hours they have worked to produce sufficient to keep them, the other five hours represents what is known as "surplus value," and is pocketed by the boss. This is what the boss lives on, this is what the industrial masters pay the taxes with, that keep the police, jail warders, parsons, lawyers. This is what the "Age" calls capital, and this capital is used to further rob the workers. And remember that the working class created the lot.

We now come to their argument that "superior executive ability" possessed by the few plays an important part— the most important in fact—in the creation of wealth. Let us put the periscope of reason on this line of argument. Amongst men who have ever given this any serious consideration this same argument is looked upon as green moulded and a relic of the past ignorance of the vulgar economists, but inasmuch as it again makes its appearance like the Rip Van Winkle of old we will deal with it for the benefit of the workers who may perchance be fooled by the "Age" hirelings.

Now the stupidity of the "Age" leader writer lies in the fact that he defines Labor as "manual labor." And as it is a definition foreign to economics it might be well to here quote Marx himself so that the "Age" will begin to understand what is meant. (Page 363 "Capital," Kerr edition; page 321, English edition).

"All combined labor on a large scale requires, more or less, a directing authority, in order to secure the harmonious working of the individual activities, and to perform the general functions that have their origin in the action of the combined organism as distinguished from the action of its separate organs.

"A single violin player is his own conductor; an orchestra requires a separate one."

So you will see that the Socialists recognise that it is the systematic co-operation of the masses with a directing authority that produces all wealth. But the explosion comes when we proceed to prove that this "Directing authority" is carried on not by the capitalists but by a "special kind of wage laborer." We find that the managers, accountants, foremen and overseers who are directing industrial operations are taken from the ranks of the working class and belong to the working class. As Marx says (page 365 "Capital," Kerr edition, page 323 Eng. Ed.):—"It is not because he is a leader of industry that a man is a capitalist, he is a leader of industry because he is a capitalist."

The modern capitalist of to-day more often than not does not even know where the mine or factory is located from whence he receives his living. He calls upon a broker, the broker invests his money in Broken Hill Prop. Stock, and at the end of every three months down comes his manna as though from heaven.

Is he displaying any "directing authority" or is the "directing authority" displayed by the salaried workers in Broken Hill?

The inventor is mentioned by the "Age," and they are greatly perturbed about HIS reward. We know that his reward will be under Socialism, and we also know what his reward HAS BEEN under capitalism, the system the "Age" attempts to bolster up. Eli Whitney, the inventor of the cotton gin, and was "rewarded" with the pangs of poverty. His invention was stolen, and men of the class the "Age" supports became wealthy as a result of the robbery. Tellier, who advanced civilisation an epoch by the invention of the system whereby food could be preserved by freezing by compression, died in abject want, while those who stole the invention, amassed millions, and were respectable citizens of the "Age" type. Mergenthaler the inventor of the Linotype machine, died in economic distress, while those who deprived him of the results of his combined labor and genius became multi-millionaires. Hundreds of similar cases could be presented, but this is surely sufficient to convince a savage even more primitive than the "Age" leader writer, that the "superior ability" belongs to the working class, and not to the capitalist class.

Chiozza Money, M.P., points out in his treatise on "The Great State" that in Great Britain in a year of great prosperity never more than 6,400,000 wage earners, officered by 500,000 salaried officials were engaged in productive work. These 500,000 officials are not capitalists, they are only "salaried officials" in the pay of the capitalists, or, in other words higher paid wage-workers. Where did the "superior ability" of the capitalist come in? How and where did he assist in the production of wealth? "Ability" DOES exist, but only with the working class.

LABOR DOES PRODUCE ALL WEALTH! Labor, hand and brain, creates all things that are of any worth. Labor, when it wills, when it organises on the political field to destroy the political state and overthrow capitalism, and on the industrial field to TAKE AND HOLD the industries for the benefit of those who produce all wealth, instead of in the interests of a horde of idle bondholding capitalists—will complete its historic mission and march triumphantly to the goal of INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY.

Slams and Jabs.

By JAYBES.

China is Destroying Opium.

According to a Pekin correspondent of the New York "Times," the burning of opium in public in Shanghai is arousing interest throughout China. We have a vague remembrance of a time when China tried some dirty trick like that before, and inasmuch as our Indian merchants grow poppies for the purpose of extracting opium out of them we were forced, in the interests of our merchants to teach uncivilised China a lesson in morals and send missionaries and gunboats to do the trick. We have no objection to those almond eyed chaps burning opium, provided they pay for it, but if that means that they are thinking about doing without it then we will have to again appeal to our liberty-loving government for assistance. How these Chinamen think we will ever civilize them without missionary tracts, opium and machine guns is more than our high standard of morality can get us to understand.

The Peace Conference Now and the One To Follow.

During the war for Democracy that is just over, we were informed that the British Statesmen stood out firmly for the abolition of secret diplomacy in international affairs. They may have been honest, we said "MAY," but we did not think so. Capitalism could never exist if it done its dirty work in the open. There is the question of territory grabbing, something we were informed the Allies didn't go in for. Then there's the question of what the Allies intend to do in Russia in the name of democracy. Then there's the little question of trade and commerce, and the unloading of goods in foreign markets for profit for the bosses of the various nations of social night raiders.

Let them wade into it knee high, this is their last chance to dabble in this kind of twaddle, so let them have their swing. All the hot air and balloon juice that is being peddled in Paris will be worth about the paper it is recorded on this time next year. The revolutionary movement is moving fast and another peace conference will take place, but it will be a conference of the revolutionary workers of the world to consider ways and means of establishing economic peace and socialism.

Democracy and Hypocricy

Much manufactured news on Germany and Russia is being ladled out to an unsuspecting public. The revolutionists are being defeated here there and everywhere. Notwithstanding all this we are not permitted to receive letters from our German and Russian Comrades who can give us first hand information on the success of the revolution. However, we are in a position to know that the news of defeat is without foundation, and that the ruthless capitalists of the Allied countries could just as easily put the sun in the crown of George as they can hope to overthrow the Soviet Government of Russia.

The most hypocritical of all European robbers is the British capitalist class. One minute they pretend to be fighting in the interests of small countries against despotism, and the next minute they are sending troops to Russia in an attempt to overthrow the only people on earth who have succeeded in deposing their despot. You will also see that when the bloody Czar was murdering men and women and children by the thousands, with the assistance of the black hundreds, Great Britain never attempted to send any assistance [illegible] to understand. The British capitalist class were in league with the black hundreds and all the reactionary elements in Russia insofar as they had made agreements with them in the shape of treaties of a secret character which bound the Russian people hand and foot in their special interests. "Lay on, Macduff; and damned be he who first cries "Hold, enough!""

How about the [illegible] when the people woke up?

[illegible] that is, unless he mends his ways and does something useful. In the new society, that is Bolshevism, every sound and able-bodied man will have to justify his existence by deeds, and not by being accidentally born into a family of never-works.

Martial Law in Argentina.

When the bosses declare martial law we know that the working class are making a bid for freedom and in this respect we are pleased to know that martial law has been declared in Argentina. No matter where we turn we can see the signs of the times. When the workers arise the suppressive forces of the State are used to drive them back to slavery. That is why we want to capture the State.

Capitalists Toast Labor's (Mis) Representatives.

You have a faint idea about the reception Lenin or Trotsky would receive in Melbourne or Sydney from the capitalist press and the capitalist class. You have some kind of an idea how a representative of the Australian Socialist Party would be received were he to arrive in Paris. You know well enough that they wouldn't be trotted around by the mayor and the parliamentary representatives of [illegible], they would be trotted round to the nearest gaol. How comes it then that this couple of pensioners from France are being entertained by the press, to the tune of a column advertisement daily; by the politicians of capitalism, by the reactionary mayors who should have been embalmed years ago, that is, if their ideas are any criterion of their age. The reason is plain. Paul Thomsen and Adolf Hoder are not representing the material interests of the French working class, and are therefore considered "safe and sane." In other words, they are not a menace to the privileged class, and are, from our standpoint, a menace to the class they misrepresent.

Melbourne's Poverty and Philanthropy.

The capitalist class rob the working class, and then when the workers, due to sickness and unemployment, are destitute, they are arrested on account of having "no visible means of support." This is adding insult to injury with a vengeance. The Melbourne "Herald" reports as follows:" . . . visited a house at Brook street, North Fitzroy, last evening, and found a man, his daughter, and two children, in a state of exhaustion through illness and starvation." The man and his daughter were arrested and charged, and the children were charged with having been neglected and passed over to some home.

During the evidence it was pointed out that the man worked for a prominent doctor as handy man and received 5/ a week

and the scraps from the doctor's table. This is in Melbourne, and under capitalism. Need we fear the "atrocities" of Socialism? If this happened in Petrograd all the capitalist papers in the world would give it big scare headlines and three columns, but when it happens in Australia it appears to be so common that small print at the bottom of some page is sufficient. Under a sane system—Socialism—when social units become too sick to perform useful labor it will be the duty of society to look after them; they will not be thrown on the tender mercies of some philanthropist who takes advantage of their misery to further rob them. Yet "Socialism will break up the home!"

Labor Knows no Country and Only One Flag.

The Melbourne "Age" in an attempt to "sling off" at a One Big Union meeting held in the Socialist Hall, at which Garden, Kilburn, Moroney and Rutherford spoke, passes the remark: "Of the four [illegible] the speakers only one appeared to be Australian." Garden is a Scotchman, Kilburn is an Englishman, Moroney [illegible] an Irishman (as his name would [illegible]) and Rutherford, too, must be [illegible] or of Scotch extraction. W[illegible] about it? The "Age" doesn't [illegible] to its German editor, and neither [illegible]. We of the working class are just [illegible] the capitalist class in this respect, we know no country, [illegible] one flag. [illegible] flag is red; their flag is [illegible] the pirate. This [illegible] about nationality [illegible] did that. The capitalist class [illegible] the Allied nations [illegible] to their aid. [illegible] white and brindle [illegible] side [illegible] to protect the interests [illegible]. With the One Big [illegible] we desire it to be [illegible] that we draw no color [illegible] and no national [illegible]. W[illegible] all the workers who are [illegible] the capitalists of various [illegible] colors, to unite with the workers not only in Australia, but all over the world [illegible] the [illegible] of the workers of the [illegible] to make the world a fit place to live in.

Even then there may be a place for Frederick Von Schuler, the German editor of the "Age." We could put him to wrapping up "International Socialists," or sweeping out the office in Goulburn street.

British Capitalism Presents a Labor Delegate to the Peace Conference.

Under ordinary circumstances when Labor desires a delegate to attend anything, where representation is to be made for the benefit of labor, Labor generally elects the delegate itself. This rule however, has gone by the board. Lloyd George has invited Geo. M. Barnes (who scabbed on the working class, and was forced to change his electorate), to represent the worker's interests on the Conference. The press announces that this faker is demanding that some authority be established with a view to promoting "humane" conditions of labor throughout the world. The ONLY "authority," that exists to establish anything that will be of any benefit to the workers on the industrial field is the workers themselves through their solidarity. Barnes would have you believe that labor is a sick cat that needs a dose of social [illegible]. Labor will do ALL for also that labor needs, and labor will eventually "do" the capitalism, and [illegible] Barnes will go in the rush.

TO UNATTACHED SUPPORTERS

Whosoever you are, if you believe in Scientific Socialism, you must recognise the need for organisation. Why not set a good example to the workers whom you come in contact with, and whom we know you try to educate, by joining up with the A.S.P.

If there is no BRANCH in your locality, you can become a MEMBER AT LARGE, and thus become a REAL LIVE WIRE.

For further information, drop a line to the General Secretary, A.S.P., 115 Goulburn Street, Sydney

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"THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST."

Does the "I.S." suit you? Do you think it is doing good work. Do you wish to see the good work continue. If so, **show your appreciation and assist by getting subscribers.**

"The Foundations of a Lasting Peace."

By J. B. SCOTT.

Reply to Prof. M. Atkinson.

(Continued from Last Issue.)

Never was the Socialist position more clearly shown, and never were our conclusions and contentions more clearly demonstrated, that the present rulers are mentally barren when they attempt to explain this "best" of all systems—their own.

According to the Professor, the world must perish because it lacked the spirit. Is HE RIGHT? Is this conflict that goes on in society irrepressible? Is man's hand ever to be raised against his fellow man? Are the mothers of the working class condemned to the task of bearing children to have them destroyed even before they reach manhood? Are children to be taught to hate those they have never seen? Has the message of the Prince of Peace fallen on barren ground, and that after 1900 years of propaganda?

Is there no force in society that can achieve a lasting peace, and must humanity perish? No! There is a band of men and women bound up in an International Fellowship whose numbers run into millions, their symbol is the Red Flag of Universal Brotherhood, and within the philosophy which this flag covers, will be found that spirit that will heal the [illegible] of a cursed and brutalised humanity, and give a lasting peace to the world's people.

In considering the impossibilities of a "League of Nations," in explaining the corruption of the press, and the miseducation doled out in the public schools, did the Professor point out WHY things are as they are, or why they could not be otherwise? Not one word on the vitality of the whole procedure, THE CAUSE. These outward manifestations of capitalism are but effects, and effects that even the blind could feel to indulge in meaningless statements is easy, beautiful language is nice and pretty, almost any man who sets his mind to it can please people by running on the outside edge of a philosophy and skimming over effects without touching upon the cause; they remind one of the song Shand used to sing at the pantomimes over twenty years ago.

"The mother was chasing her boy round the room
And while she was chasing her boy round the room,
She was chasing her dear little boy round the room."

We are left where we started, or, in the words of Omar Khayyam:

Myself when young did eagerly frequent
Doctor and Saint and heard great argument,
About it and about; but evermore
Came out by the same door as in I went.

We are simply intoxicated with words while all the time we are hungering for all the facts. The people want to know but the modern forces of (mis)education are out to see that his desires will be directed in other channels than those that lead to truth.

The Professor did not point out that this system which he upholds, Capitalism, was responsible for the social ills that afflict society; nor did he mention the fact that when the things that are used in common, are owned in common, there will be nothing to fight about. To-day one class begs leave to work from this "lordly fellow worm" in order to earn bread by the sweat of his brow, and the other class "live on a crimson wool," as Kipling says.

When wealth becomes a social force for the supplying of the material needs of humanity then, but not until then, will dawn the brighter morn that awaits the human day. Then will vanish the war of individuals, who, under capitalism, are stretching forth a hand to rob his neighbour of his bread; then the National struggles will be no more for the Industrial Commonwealth of Labor will be International. The class struggle will have died out and the hoary corpse of capitalist society will be well embalmed in the lumber rooms of history. Then, but not until then, will a "LEAGUE OF NATIONS" be possible. Then it will be an accomplished fact.

The Professor knows only too well that he too is in the same boat as the press and the school system which he partly condemns. He dare not admit the truth, or he, like Othello, would find his mission ended and his occupation gone.

His answers to the several questions proved to my mind, and in the light of the Socialist Philosophy, that his sincerity could not only be questioned, but that he was not willing to back up truth wherever truth should lead. He was asked the question:

"Since you are opposed to war, would you favor an organisation that had for its aim and object the scientific education and organisation of the working class for the final overthrow of the capitalist system; and in the meantime educating the working class to the knowledge that they had no country to fight for."

He answered the question by saying that he could not join an organisation of that description, owing to some law or other bearing on his particular case. Then again on being asked "Do you mean to say that you would sacrifice your principle for your job," he rather blushingly admitted that if they cared to put it that way, "Yes."

With the man Atkinson we have nothing to do other than with the things the man has advocated.

In opposition to the proposals of the Professor I have, in the name of Socialism, a proposal to submit; one that is practical and inevitable. The capitalist class apologists have proven their own mental bankruptcy. They have shown us that they have no solution to the problems that will confront them when the war is over. They would start in with experiments, and they are asking the working class to bear with them until they make a few attempts. The day of Capitalism is swiftly passing—the attempted spreading of pessimism by the Professor to the contrary notwithstanding. Capitalism has reached its last stages, and must and will go down before the terrible onslaught of the class conscious proletariat. This is the Day of the World's Proletariat, and the millions, of whom I have referred to, are hastening with all their efforts the advent of Socialism, which alone will usher in a lasting peace and bring about a well-established order of things in International relations.

The working class have an historic mission to fulfil, and that is the establishment of an Industrial republic. As long as they potter about with reforms, capitalism will remain intact; and they will have to keep on reforming and reforming the different effects capitalism will produce.

Too long have the workers been fooled by political parties who pretend to be "the friends of the working class"—as though the working class was a sick cat that needed looking after—too long have they hearkened to the voice of the reformer and the masters of flowery and empty words; too long have they looked for emancipation from others but themselves, too long have they fought the battles of capitalism. These forces of reaction declare for peace and manufacture war. The Clericals pray for human brotherhood and at the same time bless the weapons of legalised destruction; while the revived spirits of Napoleon III., who proclaimed, "The Empire means peace," pretend one thing and advocate another, millions of our fellow-workers are bleeding and dying in the stench of the trench.

Hypocrisy reigns supreme, slaughter being promoted under the pretence of peace. With the Socialist peace is a cardinal principle, a religion, a goal, earnestly pursued with all the intelligence at the command of the human race.

How is the solution to materialise?

To-day there is every evidence of a would awakening. Russia has paved the way through the proletariat revolution of 1917. Austria is bubbling over with the spirit of revolution. Germany is in the throes of internal revolt. The Professor sees nothing in all of this, but the Socialist knows that within these countries organisation is going on based on industry, and that the spirit of class solidarity is on the increase. The workers are at last beginning to realise that the cause of their social afflictions is an economic cause, and in order to remove it they will have to organise into economic organisations for the removal of the CAUSE—Capitalism.

Why India wants Self-Government.

By H. CHRISTOPHERSON.

(Continued from Last Issue.)

Agitation for Self-Government Bears Dead Sea Fruit.

Nevertheless, even with the disagreements mentioned, the agitation for self-government by the Indians had so far progressed that the British Government thought it prudent to make some show of concession, and in 1892 the Indian Councils Act was passed.

By this act certain councils, called Imperial and Provincial Councils, were created in India. The chief features of these councils were that the effective members were still appointed by the British Imperial Government, and were either British business men or officials, while other members of the councils were native Indians who were nominated either by British officials or by Indian associations and public bodies.

But the Indians had no legislative powers and no votes in the councils. They could merely take part in discussions. And, moreover, of course no democratic Indians had any chance of gaining admission to these councils.

From 1892 to 1909 a strenuous, and at times passionate political agitation went on all over India. Sometimes, when the Government took exceptionally severe measures to check it, the resulting disturbances led to violence. Much bitter feeling was manifested, and many "agitators" spent long years in prison.

But in this period, also, there was a gradual awakening among the Indian reformers to the importance of social reform. And consequently, the agitation took on a much healthier form.

The old-fashioned Indian industries had long ago been ruined by the flooding of India by the machine manufactured products of England. One result had been that a large number of Indian craftsmen had actually died of starvation as they were gradually ousted from their trades by the cheap imported cotton and other goods, without being able to find other employment.

This at times led to boycotts of British goods, caused by a feeling similar to that which had given rise to the Luddite machine smashing in England itself at an earlier stage, when the British workers were suffering equal hardships in order to contribute to the success of a soulless commercial system.

When the Indians saw the Russian workers rebel against the Czar's autocratic government, in 1905 it gave them new heart. The large native press, which had meanwhile sprung into existence, bitterly denounced the bureaucratic government under which the Indians were living, pointing out that it was far worse than any Muscovite oppression. Some British Government officials were murdered from time to time, and this gave those who believed in severe methods of suppression a chance to put their doctrines into practice.

Repressive Measures Give Indian Movement Radical Turn.

But as always, when autocratic governments try to exterminate popular movements by force, the punitive measures adopted only caused the movement to grow stronger than ever.

From these years dates what has come to be known as the radical political move-

Continued on page 4.

INDIA.

Continued from Page 3.

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ment in India. The older school of reformers had been content to work under the British Government officials. But the "radicals" denounced all bureaucratic officialdom, and demanded absolute self-government for India. It became a movement of "India for the Indians." Ever since then the radicals of India have demanded to be permitted to run India entirely by the people of India and for the people of India.

The radicals attended every year in force to try to capture congress. But until the year 1907 they were unable to do so. In that year the congress was held at Surat, and the radicals would have succeeded in capturing the organisation if the conservatives had not caused it to break up in utter confusion, rather than seeing the leadership pass into the hands of the radicals.

Although several incipient rebellions had been easily stamped out by ruthless measures, it was considered wise to do something to conciliate certain circles of Indians, and in 1909, what is known as the Morley-Minto reforms were brought in. The number of native representatives both in Provincial and "Imperial" councils were increased, and more freedom of speech was granted, but the change was practically worthless, as the Indian representatives still had no votes and no influence over the executives. To give an idea of what Indian "elections" mean, it is enough to mention that one constituency electing one native member consisted of seven individuals. The representatives were elected largely by landlords and councils representing landlords.

Disgusted with the results of political agitation, and realising that social emancipation was the more important, many educated Indians turned away from congress and devoted themselves to social service, giving their attention to the questions of emancipation from the caste system and the improvement of conditions of the workers in Indian factories. In 1905 the "Servants of India Society," devoting its attention to these questions, had been founded by Mr. Gokhale.

A man who was to become prominent, Mr. Tilak, had attended the Surat congress as a radical, but shortly afterwards he had been convicted of sedition, and for some years he was working off his sentence at Mandalay.

At the congress of Bombay in 1915 the radicals had been beaten by tactics. But now another interesting figure had become one of the leaders of the Radicals. This was Mrs. Besant, who had for a long time been enthusiastic about certain aspects of Indian religion as well as politics. At the congress of Lucknow in 1916 the radical section was entirely in command. Mr. Tilak and Mrs Besant were representative of the majority views. They demanded home rule at once and in full. Their scheme was one of purely political reform, but at the same time they demanded some sort of direct suffrage.

By this time the Moslems had joined in with the general movement, and at the same time congress was meeting at Lucknow, the Moslem League, an organization with somewhat similar objects had been meeting there. Later, two of their leaders Mohamed Ali and Shauket Ali, were interned, and their organ, the "Comrade" suppressed.

(Continued next Issue.)

MELBOURNE LECTURES!

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EVERY SUNDAY EVENING.

Under the Auspices of the Australian Socialist Party at

47 VICTORIA ST., CITY.

A.S.P. Badges

A NEW SUPPLY OF BADGES HAVE COME TO HAND, AND ARE NOW PROCURABLE AT 1/6, POSTAGE 1/8. QUANTITIES TO BRANCHES AT 1/5 EACH.

MONEY MUST ACCOMPANY ALL ORDERS; ADDRESS SAME TO THE GEN. SEC., A.S.P., 115 GOULBURN ST., SYDNEY.

A. S. P.

NEWS AND NOTES.

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SYDNEY.

On Sunday, Jan. 12th, Com. Reardon lectured in the Hall on "Political Action and Revolution," but as he has stated his intention to condense his address into an article for the "I.S." I will leave it to him to deal with.

Bom. Baritz, who has arrived back in Sydney from Canada, spoke a few words at the conclusion of Com. Reardon's lecture.

On the following Sunday, the former lectured on "The French Revolution and Bolshevism." The lecture was long and interesting, but it is absolutely impossible to write a tithe of it here, as there is neither space or time.

Com. Baritz described the events leading to the Revolution, which of course he emphasised as being absolutely bourgeois, and showed how the biggest number of sufferers under the "Terror" were those of the working class. He dealt briefly with the Russian Revolution, which, he claimed as being working class, and which, according to facts that he had been able to glean, was progressing splendidly. The audiences in the hall lately have been splendid, we have been unable to find seating accommodation for all present, and almost as many turned away as were inside.

The branch is making efforts to find bigger premises, and to increase activities generally.

The election of officers took place at last meeting, and resulted in the following: Secretary, Com. Mrs. Reardon; assistant seerteary, Com. W. E. Gay; treasurer, Com. G. Nelson.

An executive committee and literature committee were also formed, and by all appearances it seems as though something will be doing shortly.

Paper sales still keep up to the mark,

MARCIA REARDON,
Hon. Sec.

THIRROUL.

—•—

Again we have been at it in Thirroul. On 12/1/19, with the help of Com. Leece and Com Andy Lees, we had a splendid meeting. The attendance was large, and the people gave the speakers their undivided attention. Com. Leece lectured to the branch in the morning, and gave the members a most enjoyable and instructive lesson on Marxian principles. In the afternoon at the monument Com. Leece was exceedingly good in tracing the past history of the human race up to the present capitalist system, and the need for its abolition. He clearly enunciated that the capitalist system is undoubtedly dead, and that it only remained for the workers to wake up and bury it to get rid of the stench. This comrade will always be listened to here.

Com. Lees followed on with a fine fighting speech, indeed one of his best efforts. In fact the exposition of economies was responsible for clearing up in the minds of some people any doubt as to the soundness of Socialism.

Sunday, 19/1/19. Com. Thomas came along and despite the bad weather held a well attended meeting. This Com., together with Com. France, went to Woonona on Saturday night, the 18th Dec., and held a meeting. Judging by reports, the good work has begun there as well as here. During Sunday afternoon Com. Thomas met with some interruption, but he was equal to the occasion, and the interrupters went away sadder if not wiser. Our comrade's address was an eye-opener to the younger portion of his audience, who unanimously vote him to be a clear and concise speaker—one whom they can easily understood. It is by the efforts of these comrades that the principles of scientific socialism are spreading rapidly among the people, especially among the younger portion.

Sales of literature are still on the upgrade; also attendance at meetings.

R. F. SUTHERLAND.

... The ... Australian Socialist Party.

PRINCIPLES AND POLICY.

Objective

The social ownership and control of the means of production and distribution.

Statement of Principles.

The present form of Society rests on private ownership of the land and the machinery (tools) of production.

The owners of most of the land and machinery of production constitute what is economically known as the capitalist class. Hence the use of the term, "The capitalist form of society."

This form of ownership divides society in all countries into two distinct and opposing classes—the capitalist class and the working class.

The working class produces all the wealth of society, whilst it only receives sufficient to enable it to carry on production (i.e. a living wage). The rest of the wealth is appropriated by the capitalist class, and is known as surplus value.

Thus a conflict of interests is set up over the division of this wealth, each class striving to obtain possession of a greater portion. This conflict of interests begets a never-ceasing struggle known as the class war, some section or other of the working class being ever engaged in actual conflict.

Political Action and the State.

The struggle forces the workers to organise on the industrial field. But this organisation inevitably produces political consequences.

The State, that combination of legal, judicial and coercive forces, which is directed by parliament (the executive of the capitalist system), is the weapon with which the capitalist class defeats the workers on the industrial field. Finding themselves in conflict with the State, the workers are forced to find political expression for their economic organisations.

Inasmuch as industrial action produces its political reflex, the A.S.P. recognises the use of revolutionary political action on the above basis, as distinct from the palliative-mongering parliamentarism of non-revolutionary parties, to be essential to the complete overthrow of the capitalist system.

Political action then is only of value to the working-class, so far as it truly reflects its organised industrial power.

As to Unionism.

The A.S.P. aims and declares for Industrial Unionism as against craft or sectional unionism, for whereas the specialisation of the processes of production, the invention of machinery, and the concentration of ownership into fewer and fewer hands, makes craft unionism unable to cope with this economic development, and ever growing power of the employing class, because it is a relic of a lower stage in the evolution of capitalist production, i.e., the organised abor expressions of lower forms of tools, the A.S.P. therefore declares that to-day this organisation has outlived its usefulness, and has created crafts and sections amongst the working class in the same industry, and this contradiction in industrial development allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set in the same industry, and industry against industry, thereby defeating one another when waging war against the encroachments of the capitalist class, with their superior and higher developed organisations. And in view of this economic development the working class must organise in such a manner as will correspond to the development of the tools of production.

The A.S.P. therefore affirms that industrial unionism in contradistinction to craft unionism is that form of organisation which is based upon the recognition of the class struggle, and through which all its members in one industry or in all industries, if necessary, can act as a unit on the industrial field.

The A.S.P. therefore endorses the 1916 preamble of the W.I.I.U.

As to Economic Interpretation of History.

The A.S.P. pledges itself to the materialistic interpretation of history, which asserts that the transition from one system of society to another, as in the past, from primitive communism to chattel slavery, from chattel slavery to feudalism, and from feudalism to the present Capitalist State, has been the result of new and improved methods of production.

All the institutions of any period of society are moulded by the prevailing economic conditions. The religious, juridical, educational and social institutions, therefore reflect the interests of the dominant class. Thus these institutions and their ideology bolster up the capitalist system.

As to Militarism.

The A.S.P. declares itself uncompromisingly hostile to all forms of armaments and militarism, recognising that the armed forces will be used to buttress up capitalism, and to hold down the workers. The A.S.P. further recognises that the energies of the working class can be better utilised in building up their industrial and political organisations, which shall finally render war impossible, as such organisations by international affiliation and alliances between the working classes of all nations will be the chief guarantee of the peace of the world.

SOCIALIST HALL

369 Pitt Street.

DANCE EVERY SATURDAY NIGHT

LECTURE EVERY SUNDAY EVENING

-: The Australian Socialist Party. :-

OBJECTIVE.

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The Social ownership and control of the means of production and distribution

HEADQUARTERS:

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115 GOULBURN ST., SYDNEY., N.S.W.
A. S. REARDON, Gen. Sec. Treas.

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Any Branch desiring matter published under the above heading, should write clearly what is needed, and forward same to this Office.

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All rebels making their way to the "Hill" will receive a welcome at the above address.
Every Sunday morning: Lectures.
Every Sunday night, 7.30: Lectures
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Wonthaggi.

BARRIER LECTURES!

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SOCIALIST HALL, SULPHIDE ST.

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